/14 cont./

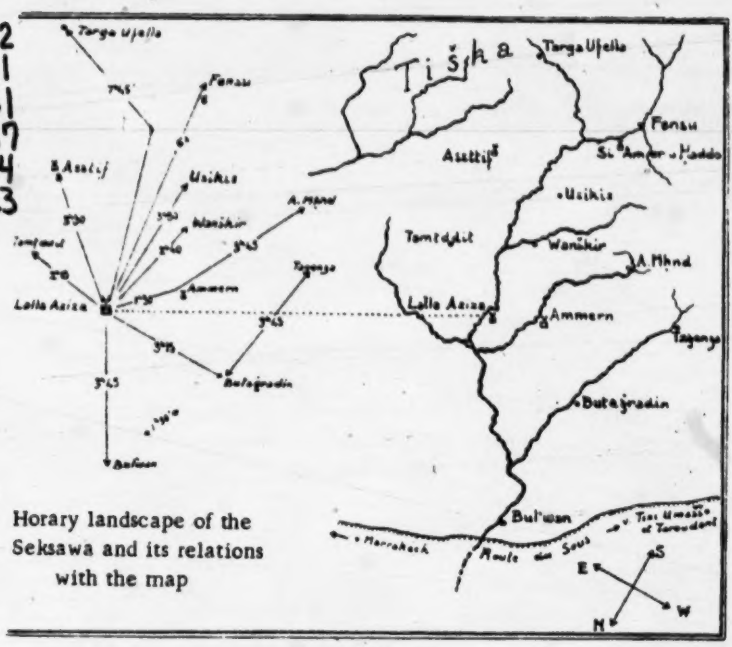
184 804 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 484 804 823 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1] and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 804 178 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza. Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.

484 804 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still farther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 (127) Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con- 634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular 619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
• [484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 em times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 794 619 (181) It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt.. The perimeter of attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

527

527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ŝjj Hfid' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But
794 the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This re-
• 484 serve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

796 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from
794 beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sŝid u Abdennŝim (1);

> 1. Dawh'at an-nŝchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜfd, who repelled the advances of the Sŝadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

133 /13 cont./
134 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
241 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
[249] sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
437 that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
484 tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout /tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while barley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support in the qsour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
361 Senhaja of the Deren and the Aït ʿAtta of the Saghro. The hum-
[443] ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zagmouzen play the same role with respect to the Aït Waouzgit, to the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs settled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its numerous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests